

Alice in Pentagonland: The Victim Is Punished For Trying to Defend Himself

"American statements justifying damage to civilian targets on the ground that Americans are seeking to silence adjacent anti-aircraft batteries arouse indignation among Hanoi residents. 'What are we supposed to do,' one North

Vietnamese explained, 'sit with hands crossed when American bombers come over to bomb us? It seems to us a curious philosophy to justify an attack on the ground that the person attacked is trying to defend himself.'"

—Harrison Salisbury, just out of Hanoi but writing from Hong Kong in the New York Times, Jan. 13.

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The Monster With Little Brain and No Heart

Two words sum up the beginnings of our military campaign to subdue the Mekong Delta. One is futility and the other brutality. The first invasion, launched with a tremendous air and naval bombardment, and an equally sensational splurge of publicity, was Operation Dockhouse V. It has just fizzled out. "The ten day sweep," a sentence buried in the AP's daily military roundup from Saigon admitted (*Wash. Star*, Jan. 16), "proved unproductive." This force of 4,000 U.S. and South Vietnamese Marines could claim no more than 21 Vietcong killed and 14 captured "during 10 days of slogging through thigh-deep delta mud 68 miles south of Saigon" (*N.Y. Times* Jan. 17). That is an average of two VC killed a day. We'd like to see McNamara's cost effectiveness figures on this operation. U.S. intelligence must be pretty dismal if such a vast panoply of power was brought to bear in an area where nobody seemed to be around. A companion invasion a few days later 10 miles away by South Vietnam's 9th Division was also preceded by a huge outpouring of firepower and ballyhoo. A detachment of reporters and cameramen were on the heavy missile cruiser Canberra as it poured high explosive shells for an hour and a half into the landing area. One of them wrote (*Wash. Post*, Jan. 10), "It sounded like a thunderstorm with lightning striking every few minutes." Since nothing more has been heard of that invasion, obviously its results weren't anything to boast of either. Any time the Pentagon runs out of the glamorous names it gives these operations, we'd suggest a code name suited to this combination of monstrous power with dim intelligence. Why not Operation Dinosaur?

The Idiot Arithmetic of This War

While the Marines were still chasing phantoms in Operation Dockhouse V, 30,000 U.S. troops launched Operation Cedar Falls, the biggest of the war, against the so-called Iron Triangle. The name was another triumph for our military men, who seem nowadays to be graduates of Madison Avenue rather than West Point. The name conjures up the impregnable fortress. It was another area where the troops met more peasants than guerrillas. It is or was a fertile 60-mile square area of forest, paddy fields, orchards and rubber plantations long dominated by the Vietcong under tacit agreements with French rubber companies and local officialdom. By the end of the fifth day, U.S. infantrymen had "fired their rifles only

Outspokenly Yes, No, But and Maybe

Washington, Jan. 13—Gov. George Romney has expressed concern that President Johnson's policy of prosecuting the war in Vietnam and simultaneously seeking peace may have prolonged the conflict. The Michigan Republican, a potential Presidential candidate in 1968, has charged in private conversations that an ambivalent Administration has not shown the same degree of determination to end the Vietnam war as it could have done. Mr. Romney believes that the talk about a negotiated settlement in Vietnam may have made it more difficult to win the war. He quotes well-informed sources as maintaining that North Vietnam considers such discussion a show of weakness on the part of the U.S. The Governor does not dispute the necessity for the presence of American troops in Vietnam. He tries to limit his criticism to what he sees as mistakes in the conduct of the war without taking a personal position as a 'hawk' or a 'dove.'"

—New York Times Jan. 14, off-the-record-talk with Romney, in town for a Women's Press Club dinner.

occasionally" and "one intelligence officer" found it necessary to explain that "he thought it unlikely that more than 100 enemy soldiers were ever in the target areas at one time" (*N.Y. Times* Jan. 13). But 10,000 peasants live there. It was decided that they were all "at least passive Vietcong" (*same*) and must be uprooted and resettled and the whole area razed. To make 10,000 peasants homeless in order to get at 100 guerrillas is the idiot arithmetic of this war, guaranteed to create 10 new rebels for every one we kill or capture.

Imagine 30,000 Chinese troops uprooting Iowa villagers to save them from Republicanism and you get some idea of how likely this is to win—as our sentimental Generals say—the hearts of the people. This operation in the Iron Triangle was pictured by the London *Sunday Times* (Jan. 15) in all its mindless technology. Its correspondent flew over the scene with the Engineer Colonel in command. "Below us a 22-ton armored bulldozer named 'Hogjaws' leads a clearing column on a compass course through the jungle," he cabled. "Above Hogjaws a 'talkout' helicopter circles, broadcasting through loud-speakers a tape-recorded message calling on the Vietcong to surrender. Hogjaws is leading a column of two tanks, four 14-ton bulldozers and 12 armored personnel carriers.

(Continued on Page Four)

Committee Formed to Help Vietnamese Child Victims of Our Napalm...

TO HELP THE CHILDREN: In the box below are excerpts from three eye-witness reports in three leading monthly magazines of what our napalm is doing to Vietnam's children. We suggest that those concerned see that all three articles have the widest possible circulation; no one who loves children can read them without tears. A Committee of Responsibility (777 United Nations Plaza, New York City) has been formed by some 100 physicians, clergymen, scientists and others to bring war-burned and war-injured Vietnamese children here for treatment. The honorary chairmen are Rev. John C. Bennett of Union Theological Seminary; Prof. Bentley Glass; Methodist Bishop John Wesley Lord; Episcopalian Suffragan Bishop of Washington, Rt. Rev. Paul Moore, Jr.; Dr. Albert Sabin, Dr. Benjamin Spock, Mrs. Philip Stern and Dr. Helen Brooke Taussig. The biggest obstacle is Administration hostility. Obviously it does not want the American public to see child victims. The kind of facial surgery the worst burned need is only available here. We'll report on the campaign as it unfolds.

WHAT'S A LITTLE MURDER BETWEEN FRIENDS? On the CBS Cronkite show Jan. 16 there were shots of Tran Van Van's funeral. His widow said she asked one of the junta leaders, "Why did you let Ky murder my husband?" John Hart, the CBS news correspondent, sought to smooth this over with the official U.S. propaganda line in Saigon that the Viet Cong murdered Van to cause dissension between the Constituent Assembly, in which Van was the foremost Southern leader, and the military. But I am told that off-the-record in U.S. circles in Saigon it is taken for granted that Van was killed by the military to get rid of Ky's No. 1 civilian rival. In the Jan. 21 issue of *The New Republic*, Tran Van Dinh, who was South Vietnam's Acting Ambassador in 1964, ex-

The Solemn Mendacities of the Baker Trial

"The procession of savings and loan association officials who testified [at the Bobby Baker trial] raised almost as many questions as they answered. One Californian said Baker listed seven Senators—four of them Republicans—as potential recipients of the money. There was no explanation of why the Secretary to the Senate Democrats would be raising funds for Senate Republicans. However, all four GOP Senators were members of the Senate Finance Committee which at the time was considering an omnibus tax bill that included a tax hike for savings and loan associations. The Congressmen listed 10 men who provided the money in amounts ranging from \$1500 to 17,300. In all cases it was in cash, mostly in \$100 bills. Those asked why the contributions were in cash rather than check said it was more expedient to collect currency because the money was to be divided up among so many Senators."

—Robert Walters: Washington Sunday Star Jan. 15.

plains why people in Saigon do not believe the Viet Cong killed Van and reveals that Van had told friends he hoped, if elected President in late 1967, to "start a dialogue with the National Liberation Front to end the war."

JUNTA NOT GETTING POORER: The Saigon junta is not doing badly. The *Saigon Post* (Jan. 12) reported the theft of 10 million piastres worth of gold and pearl valuables from a customer's safe in "a foreign owned bank" in Saigon. The valuables belonged to Mrs. Tran Thi Kim Dung "wife of a noted personality." The noted personality is head of Ky's "CIA". She claimed to have deposited 30 million piastres worth of jewelry, gold and pearls in the bank. That is the equal of about \$300,000—in one vault alone, no doubt on her husband's salary. Another wife safe from malnutrition

What Our Napalm Does to Vietnam's Children—From Three Leading Monthlies

"In the children's ward of the Qui Nhon provincial hospital I saw for the first time what napalm does. A child of 7, the size of our 4-year olds, lay in the cot by the door. Napalm had burned his face and back and one hand. The burned skin looked like swollen, raw meat; the fingers of his hand were stretched out, burned rigid. A scrap of cheesecloth covered him, for weight is intolerable, but so is air. His grandfather, an emaciated old man half blind with cataract, was tending the child. A week ago napalm bombs were dropped on their hamlet. The old man carried his grandson to the nearest town. . . . Destitute, homeless, sick with weariness and despair, he watched every move of the small racked body of his grandson."

—Martha Gellhorn in *Ladies' Home Journal* Jan. 1967.

"In the American press the Vietcong are almost always presented as indiscriminate terrorists. The reality is not so simple. At certain times and in certain villages the Vietcong are in fact terrorists. But often they are trying to win the hearts and minds of the general population. . . . Frequently the Vietcong carry out the public execution of a government official and this is reported as a 'terrorist attack'. But the truth sometimes seems to be that the official was oppressive, his execution a welcome event. . . . Their savagery is personal—and primitive. Ours is impersonal and sophisticated. We and the South Vietnamese use artillery to shell villages; we don't see what happens at the other end when the shell explodes, killing and mutilating

women and children. . . . The Vietcong do not use napalm; we do. . . . I have been an orthopedic surgeon for a good number of years. . . . But nothing could have prepared me for my encounters with Vietnamese women and children burned by napalm. It was sickening, even for a physician, to see and smell the blackened flesh. One continues for days afterward getting sick when he looks at a piece of meat on his plate because the odor of burned flesh lingers so long in memory. And one never forgets the bewildered eyes of the silent, suffering napalm-burned child."

—Richard E. Perry, M.D. in *Redbook* January 1967.

"Napalm, and its more horrible companion, white phosphorus, liquidizes young flesh and carves it into grotesque forms. The little figures are afterward often scarcely human in appearance, and one cannot be confronted with the monstrous effect of the burning without being totally shaken. . . . The initial urge to reach out and soothe the hurt was restrained by the fear that the ash-like skin would crumble in my fingers. . . ."

"American soldiers in Vietnam who accidentally suffer serious burn injuries from napalm are rushed aboard special hospital planes—equipped to give immediate first aid treatment—and flown directly to Brook Army Hospital in Texas, one of the world's leading centers for burn treatment and for the extensive plastic surgery that must follow. Burnt Vietnamese children must fare for themselves."

—Wm. F. Pepper in *Ramparts* magazine January 1967.

... Sixty-Three Votes Against the House Un-Americans in Democratic Caucus

is Mme. Ky. The Tokyo *Yomiuri* (Dec. 14) reported that 430,000 yen (about \$1,200) was stolen from her handbag while she was shopping in a Tokyo jewelry store. Her husband's salary is supposed to be \$200-a-month!

THE FIGHT AGAINST THE UN-AMERICANS: Year after year the fight goes on to get rid of the House Un-American Activities Committee. There is no stranger phenomena in American legislative history than the survival of this tough and noxious weed. In the name of Americanism, this Committee carries on the most un-American activity in Congress. It is an Inquisition, a heresy hunt, a pillory for non-conformity; it belongs in medieval society or in a totalitarian state of right or left. Yet most members are either afraid to vote against it, or themselves have so little understanding of what a free society means that they enthusiastically support it. As the new Congress opened, Edwards of California and 17 other members petitioned the Democratic caucus to take up the question of HUAC with a view to its abolition. They were defeated 128 to 63. But 63 votes is more than the anti-HUAC forces have gotten since it was almost abolished at the end of World War II.

The next round will come over the appropriation. In the first two days of the session, anti-HUAC resolutions were introduced by 17 members, including four of the five remaining Negroes in the House: Diggs (Mich.), Conyers (Mich.), Hawkins (Cal.) and Nix (Pa.); Dawson (Ill.) was the only Negro who did not join them.* Hawkins in an extension of remarks opening day said he had predicted last year, when the Committee asked funds to investigate the Klan, that it would turn next to the civil rights movement. He warned against a witch hunt in the Negro ghettos, saying that the leaders of the uprisings are "just plain frustrated, angry and tired of being poor." Edwards spoke of the use made of the Committee's files as an instrument of blacklisting. All kinds of McCarthy-style rubbish, which would normally be libelous, is surreptitiously circulated by the Commit-

* The others who put in anti-HUAC resolutions the first week were Edwards (Cal.), Bingham (N.Y.), Dow (N.Y.), Fraser (Minn.), Kastenmeier (Wis.), McCarthy (N.Y.), Rosenthal (N.Y.), Annunzio (Ill.), Brown (Cal.), Farbstein (N.Y.), Scheuer (N.Y.) and Yates (Ill.), all Democrats and one Republican, Bradford Morse (Mass.).

Grenville Clark

Grenville Clark overcame a handicap worse than poverty. He was born into the highest circles of wealth and social position. Yet he became a maverick of the noblest type, and he grew more radical as he grew older. His 84 years covered a wide span of American politics. He began as a Bull Moose Republican before World War I. A generation later he performed the miracle of getting the overstuffed American Bar Association to create a Bill of Rights Committee. He used it to defend the liberties of the CIO, then still a struggling labor movement, and to help block the deportation of Harry Bridges as a dangerous Red. It took moral stamina of a high order for a man of Clark's upper class connections to do battle for such disreputables. The passion of his later years was world federalism. With Louis B. Sohn he wrote "World Peace Through World Law", sketching out a charter to which mankind must some day come or perish. We believe he would have liked us to mention that he was a reader of the Weekly. His encouraging notes were deeply appreciated. We salute in his passing a great gentleman who lived by our country's finest traditions of social conscience and of freedom.

tee to rightist and police organizations. Annunzio asked the House to recall Wayne Hay's testimony last year about the paid informers used by the Committee. Farbstein said the Committee operates in such a way that the "mere service of a subpoena immediately surrounds the one served with an aura of guilt." Edwards agreed that "Its hearings have all of the wrappings of a criminal trial, with none of its safeguards." We hope there will be pressure on the House leadership to force the Rules committee to hold open hearings on these resolutions.

NOBEL PEACE PRIZE: It would invigorate the anti-war forces in Congress if the Nobel Peace Prize (unawarded last year) went this year to Senators Morse and Gruening, the only two consistent voices against the Vietnamese war and war appropriations. Nominations have to be in by Feb. 1 so immediate action is necessary. Peace and church organizations, members of Congress, professors of political science, law, history and philosophy, and persons who have received the prize in the past may submit nominations to the Nobel Committee of the Norwegian Parliament, Nobel Institute, Oslo.

McGeorge Bundy vs. Galbraith, or Complacent Sophistry vs. Astringent Realism

"It is therefore an act of folly for any true liberal to argue that we must choose between Vietnam and social progress."

—McGeorge Bundy in *Foreign Affairs* for January.

Q. Do you think because of Vietnam the non-defense sector could become more starved than in the 1950s?

A. There is a very real danger. The Vietnam burden plays into the hands of those who do not quite have the courage to say, "Let's cut Head Start, let's cut the Youth Corps, let's cut school construction." But they can say "We have a war on our hands, so we must postpone this kind of civilian construction." It's an outrageous argument because personal income after taxes is at an all time high in part as a result of the Vietnam war. So what they are saying is, because we are getting rich with the help of Vietnam, we must cut down spending for the poor.

Q. Do you think that President Johnson can build a Great Society here and fight a war in Southeast Asia without raising taxes?

A. I have never been a friend of the Vietnam conflict. I have been opposed to our expanding involvement there ever since President Kennedy sent me to Saigon in 1961. As long as we are there it is certainly going to be difficult to give our nondefense public services the kind of money they require. Men who are capable of worrying about communism and insurrection in a basically bad social structure in South Vietnam—one that encourages a great deal of dissatisfaction—are not so good at worrying about social unrest in the United States.

—Interview (abridged) with John Kenneth Galbraith in *Challenge Magazine*, inserted in the *Congressional Record* pps. H 156-8 Jan. 12 by Rep. Wright Patman (D., Texas).

Our Pacification Campaign Finds Its Fitting Symbol in Hogjaws the Bulldozer

(Continued from Page One)

As the bulldozers clear a wide road across the triangle, the Colonel says, 'We are developing a new style of jungle warfare here—we remove the jungle.' This is not warfare. It's a demolition job.

An Artillery Accident Prone General

While bulldozers destroy the jungle, the rubber trees, the rice paddies and the villages, fire rains down on the area from the skies. In seven days, Maj. Gen. de Puy, commander of the First Infantry Division, had requested and received more than 660 air strikes in support of his troops (*N.Y. Times*, Jan. 15). There were 12 thunderous raids by B-52s and "30 artillery batteries with upward of 130 cannon had been hammering" the area all week (*N.Y. Times*, Jan. 14). It was in this heavy artillery fire that 8 American soldiers were killed and 34 wounded, the fourth case of accidental artillery shelling of his own men among the troops Gen. De Puy commands.* The South Vietnamese military man who is the province chief told the London *Sunday Times* man he was delighted with the progress of the operation. "The big thing," he said, "is that the Iron Triangle will never threaten Saigon again—within two weeks it will be a big bare field." This recalls that earlier pacification campaign described by Tacitus. We cannot forbear quoting again his familiar condemnation of his fellow Romans, "When they make a wilderness, they call it peace." So do we in the Mekong Delta.

The strategy of the campaign now unfolding is simple and repulsive. An anonymous General explained it to a correspondent in South Vietnam months ago. Mao Tse-tung, in his book on guerrilla war, says the guerrilla lives among the people like a fish in water. "We're going to dry up the water," was how this General put it. We're going to remove the people, and make the area in which the guerrillas have hitherto lived, literally unlivable. This is what we see in the Iron Triangle campaign. Peter Arnett, the AP's prize-winning correspondent, described the process unforgettably

* This brought to 400 the number of our own troops killed by U.S. bomb and shell-fire, otherwise so surgically precise in avoiding civilians.

Only The Rats Thrive

"... what years of terror have done to South Vietnam's once-rich wild life. . . . Wild elephants, which once roamed in herds through the now bomb-pitted jungles of Central Vietnam have altered their breeding habits. 'It appears in many cases that they have stopped mating,' said Dr. Vu Ngoc Tan, quiet-spoken 43-year-old director of Saigon's zoo. 'They have been terrorized by the bombing and the artillery attacks and armored vehicles crashing through the forests.' Recently Tan spotted three injured young elephants while driving through the wooded, hilly countryside between Saigon and the mountain resort town of Dalat. 'They had very bad wounds, probably the result of shelling, and there was nothing I could do for them,' Tan said. 'They had obviously been abandoned by the herd and had come to that spot to die'. . . . Tigers and panthers also have suffered. . . . Chemical sprays have played havoc with bird life, destroying vegetation and the insects on which the birds feed. Monkeys and deer have also been affected. The one breed of animal which has thrived on the war is rats. Rats the size of cats can be seen any night in the more squalid streets of Saigon. These rodents carry a flea which transmits the bubonic plague, the 'black death' that scourged Europe in the Middle Ages."

—Reuters from Saigon in the Baltimore Sun Jan. 15.

in a dispatch published in many Sunday papers Jan. 15: "Burning homes, crying children, frightened women, devastated fields, long lines of slowly moving refugees." He said it "brought back memories of the resettlement of thousands of peasants during the era of the late Ngo Dinh Diem." That, too, was supposed to "pacify" the countryside. The refugees were herded into camps without latrines or water. "On arriving at the camp," Reuters reported (*Wash. Post*, Jan. 15), "a few of the peasants spat in disgust but most were glad to escape the bombs and the defoliation chemicals sprayed from the air." An American official commented complacently, "They don't love us but their attitude is improving." As Lyndon Johnson said in his State of the Union message, "They know that it is possible for them to choose their own national destinies—without coercion."

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